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THE POLICY OF HATE

By Felix Morley

For tens of thousands of young Americans on garrison duty in Germany this Christmas could not have been joyous.

They were, in the first place, far from home at a time when the thought of youth turns naturally to the family hearth. And these boys, however well fed and clothed and sheltered, are stationed amid the ruins of a broken nation, among a people beaten, humiliated and crushed to a degree and in a manner unprecedented in history. That German legend and German sentiment are so deeply associated with Christmas could only sharpen the irony of this year's celebration there.

Yet Christmas in Germany must have been the happier, for the American army of occupation, because of the War Department's action in putting an end to the official policy of "hate the Germans." It is three weeks now since it was decided that an American in uniform need not regard it as in the line of duty to show aversion to the defeated enemy. In three weeks the natural friendliness of American boys can give much pleasure, a quality unusually radioactive at Christmas-time. After all, many American soldiers come from Christian homes, and remain Christians at heart, in spite of governmental orders to the contrary.

So it was decent of our War Department to authorize the practice of Christian doctrine, by Christian boys, in good time for the celebration of Christ's birthday. For nearly a month now the training manuals which taught that Germans are *ipso facto* a vile people have been withdrawn from circulation, and the films so cleverly designed to indoctrinate hatred have been discarded. The curious effort to make spiritual Nazis out of Americans, even as we seek to denazify the Germans, is coming to an end.

On the heels of this happy improvement, the ban against the marriage of American soldiers and German girls is being lifted. The War Department dislikes ambiguity and is always logical. If hate is to be ordered out, then love should simultaneously be allowed in. Whatever the policy ordained in Washington, the Service will endeavor to make it work.

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But efficiency in action makes it the more important that motive should be wholesome. For 19 long months after the final and utter defeat of the German armies, an official policy of stimulating hatred for Germans as individuals was practiced by the Government of the United States; promoted by American officials; financed by American taxpayers; operated at the expense of American boys conscripted and compelled to listen to this debasing indoctrination. That is conducive to thought.

And the more one reflects upon this degradation of American principles, the more shameful that policy of officially-instigated hatred seems. In the heat of battle, when the outcome of the struggle hung in the balance, excuse could be found for such immoral leadership. Hatred and the lust for revenge are definitely factors predisposing to positive results. It is understandable, though certainly not admirable, that a government should cold-bloodedly mobilize the most evil of human passions in order to preserve itself in an emergency.

To maintain such indoctrination for a day longer than military necessity demands must nevertheless be regarded as a sign of national degeneracy. It is unquestionably a tribute to the memory of Adolf Hitler, who carried the State-controlled contamination of human decency, and the governmental exploitation of bestial instincts, to heretofore unknown depths. We had never dreamed, however, that one of our war aims was to apply to defeated Germans procedures patterned upon those which the Nazis imposed on their victims.

George Washington, in his imperishable address refusing to consider a third term, offered to his fellow citizens, as "the disinterested warnings of a parting friend," some thoughts by no means inappropriate to this subject. "Nothing," said our first President, "is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated." As he expanded the thought:

> "The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. . . . The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim."

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III

When a handful of bureaucrats in Washington decided to dishonor that name by enthroning hatred as an instrument of national policy, little was made public on the subject. It was realized that Americans as a whole would revolt against this devaluation of Christian standards, so the plan was put into effect quietly. Secrecy on the subject seemed the more important because of the recruiting campaign, dependent for success on depicting peacetime military service as an honorable and desirable career. Few young Americans would voluntarily serve an apprenticeship in the black art of hatred.

There was, of course, a general realization that boys drafted after the close of the war were getting curious instruction vaguely described as "orientation." But even today few understand the full meaning of this evasive word. Certainly it is not common knowledge that many Americans have been perforce subjected by their Government to propaganda subtly designed to make them hate their fellow man; successfully calculated to eradicate all the patient efforts of home and church to promote the difficult Christian way of life.

If the efforts of this indoctrination reacted against the Germans alone, the average citizen might be excused for indifference toward the sorry business. "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The millions of decent Germans must expect, however unjustly, to suffer cruelly for the sins of the evil men whom they permitted to seize power.

But the sword is a two-edged instrument, and indoctrinated hate can never be expected to move with docility along a one-way street. There are sad reports now of American youths, returned to civilian life, who commit assault and other crimes from sheer abandon. The virus of stimulated passion spreads easily and weakened moral barriers offer a poor impediment. So we arrive at a situation where some agencies of our Government admit to being appalled by a growing crime wave which other agencies have actually used the public money to promote.

Eventually, in spite of interested domestic opposition which can be readily understood, Congress must get around to a complete investigation of our occupation policy in Germany. A necessary part of that investigation will be to spread on the record copies of all the training manuals, all the pamphlets and all the concocted films which have been used to indoctrinate our post-war draftees with hatred.

The revelation will not help the cause of compulsory military training, no matter how disguised and sugar-coated. But it will go a

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long way to explain why our own Society is far less secure and healthy than it was before the war.

IV

At the top, but too much at the top, we are making a spectacular effort to build a better world. The United Nations seeks to encourage intergovernmental co-operation of every kind; to prevent another war by mobilizing overwhelming coercive power against any State which may again attempt aggression. In all this endeavor a palpable defect is the veto rule, permitting any State likely to commit aggression to declare that its own actions are not definable as aggression.

But that problem is not the main obstacle to the attainment of a better world. So long as the State is allowed by its citizens to initiate policies calculated to corrupt their individual morality, all effort to improve relations between States will be delusion. For the quality of the individual, and that alone, determines whether Society shall be healthy or diseased. When the State intentionally sets out to demoralize its youth, a debauched Society is the inevitable result. Nothing could be more idle than to suppose that governments which corrupt their own people can possibly establish healthy relations with each other. And nothing is more natural than the exploitation of hatred, always a powerful motive force, by an unrestrained government.

"All power corrupts," said Lord Acton, "but absolute power corrupts absolutely." Americans are fortunate in living under a form of government designed not to augment the power of the State, but to prevent it from ever becoming absolute. That is the whole point of our Federal system, and of the checks and balances provided by the distribution of legislative, executive and judicial authority.

Fortunately one of those checks is now coming into operation, with the convening of a Congress in which the majority has a more idealistic philosophy of government than that of the Administration. There is no subject on which the Republican leadership can so well exercise its duty of investigation as on this State "orientation" of individual thought.

The Christmas season is an appropriate period to make an end of the corrupting policy of hate; to resolve highly that it shall never again be imposed on the American people, as National Socialism imposed it on the Germans. We may rejoice that there is still a time of year when both heart and mind are receptive to the words of Jesus: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another."

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events VOL. III, NO. 52

By Frank C. Hanighen December 25, 1946

The dull interval between an election campaign and the assembling of Congress is always difficult for newspapermen in Washington and this year is no different. The gentlemen of the press sometimes strive to find bitter feuds where there exist only minor misunderstandings; cosmic significance in empty statements; and dark plots behind quite innocuous circumstances.

Republicans on the Hill angrily say that reporters with Democratic sympathies are trying to create dissension among the GOP members for purely partisan reasons. Actually, the reporters are guilty of no more than a desire to create news where little exists.

The struggle over the post of Majority Leader of the House is brisk, but involves personalities rather than issues. Real quarrels over committee chairmanships are rare. Despite an attempt to promote a spat between Taft and Aiken over the chairmanship of the Labor Committee, harmonious understanding prevails between these two Senators. Aiken, it turns out, wants Agriculture, not Labor, and is quite content to let Taft have the latter. Some of these competitions for chairmanships may leave rancors which later could affect alignments but at present are not important. The Democrats went through the same process regularly, without catastrophic results. The Republicans, today, seem even more harmonious, perhaps because they are more homogeneous than the Democrats.

The investigation of the unspeakable Bilbo, so far, looks more like bull-fighting than bull-baiting. Blood is figuratively spattered on the floors of the committee room, and a lot of damaging evidence is on the record -- to the delight of the fans as well as the matadors. Among the best of the latter is Senator Homer Ferguson (Mich.) who has displayed his usual prosecuting skill. Mindful of his able efforts to correct twisted history in the Pearl Harbor investigation, many wish that he had a better field for his talents than the present muckraking expedition.

Whether the Congress majority will use a rubber sword when Bilbo appears for confirmation before the bar of the Senate remains a question. It is often answered in the negative, for the driving force behind the affair is the strong Republican desire to win back northern Negro votes which they failed to recapture in the last election. The danger is that the rebel war cry will be raised and Bilbo's southern colleagues will rally to the defense of their brother Confederate in an ugly North-South row. But meanwhile city editors and their customers love it.

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In the Pentagon archives reposes a highly suggestive document -- a secret report rendered to Hitler by the German General Staff after the Fuehrer's accession to power in 1933. It proposed in detail various methods for re-arming Germany in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. One of the interesting subterfuges recommended involved the camouflage of a small fort; the building, claimed the Generalität, could be made to look like a canning factory on only a half-hour's notice.

Now, far from being a dry historic document, this report strongly suggests to American military circles that the emphasis laid by Mr. Baruch on "inspection" to prevent atomic bomb manufacture may turn out to be a delusion and snare. If the Germans could do it, how much more successfully could the Russians -- with a more powerful police system than the Nazis -- evade any enforcement of international inspection agreements. For instance, a U.P. dispatch from Shanghai (December 16) quotes a Soviet Russian newspaper, the Irkutsk Pravda -- a stray copy of which

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appears to have fallen into profane hands -- to the effect that about 3 million German, Japanese and other prisoners of war are building a new Russian-Siberian railway from the Volga to the Lake Baikal region, as well as engaging in other construction. This is the first detailed news about what the POW's are doing in Russia. If the Soviet really enforced secrecy it is difficult to see, especially in view of the vast territory of Russia, how any inspection organization could successfully work. The fate of one international inspection organization -- the Non-Intervention Committee, during the Spanish civil war -- was hardly encouraging.

An uncomfortable question arises: Have we been led into a typical Soviet diplomatic trap? Russia fiercely guards its privacy against an inspection which it actually regards as ineffective. It might yield this hollow right in exchange for some concrete advantage, such as secrets of atomic bomb manufacture.

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The silly season in Presidential politics has commenced. Talk of Eisenhower continues, perhaps because of the political vacuum created by Bricker and Stassen in Washington during the past week. Those two candid candidates unblushingly unveiled their political charms, but those of Mr. Bricker, it is noted, failed to inflame the imaginations of observers. The latest about Eisenhower is that he shrewdly took his vacation just at the time of the coal strike. This retreat is cited by his admirers as an evidence of his political astuteness. He recalled, so runs the story, that MacArthur led the troops down Pennsylvania Avenue to oust the bonus army in 1932, thereby incurring ineradicable unpopularity. The only unpopularity which MacArthur has acquired, retorts another school of thought, exists in the Daily Worker and the columns of Mr. Drew Pearson. Prudent -- that, Eisenhower is; astute -- maybe.

At any rate, Eisenhower reportedly figured that he might do well to avoid the political handicap of trying to mine coal with bayonets, an operation likely to daunt even the greatest of generals. If that was the General's intention, it was wise. But we must report that even on this point there is carping. Those who stubbornly remained skeptical of Eisenhower's military ability during the war -- unkindly remarking that he was our greatest commander since Burnside -- are now inclined to compliment him on skillfully maneuvering to avoid an action which never was regarded as a serious possibility.

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One of the most important questions -- if not, indeed, the decisive one -- arising in the coal dispute between the Government and the United Mine Workers was the length of the miners' work week. The miners have a 54-hour, six-day, maximum work week. Mr. Lewis demanded 54 hours' pay for a five day week of from 40 to 45 hours (reports differ as to his exact demands). In other words, the miners' union was bargaining for a shortening of the maximum work week. If the Government had really sought to meet this demand, it is difficult to see how the coal strike could have occurred, no matter what the Satanic qualities attributed to Mr. Lewis.

While the Government apparently declined to settle the dispute on the basis of a shorter work week, it is a surprising fact that it had put itself on record less than a year previously for such a work week the world over. This appears in an article by Mr. Murray Ross of the State Department in that Department's Bulletin (April 28, 1946), on the proceedings of the International Labor Office Coal Mining Committee in London, December, 1945. A statement of principles agreed upon by the Committee, including an American delegation, made the following recommendation for miners: "a lower maximum work week than in other industries." The miners' maximum work week of six days now contrasts with the five day week prevailing, in large part, in American industry. In view of the ILO agreement and the Government's stand in the coal dispute, one must draw one of the two following conclusions: either the

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Government wanted a shorter miners' work week for every country other than its own; or, one hand of the Government did not know what the other was doing.

The first possibility would spring naturally from the international quixotism of our foreign policy durng recent years. As for the second, there is a charitable explanation. In the Bulletin, Mr. Murray Ross is described as "Assistant Chief of the International Labor Organizations Branch, Division of International Labor, Social and Health Affairs, Office of International Trade Policy, Department of State." It is, manifestly, not at all surprising that the White House was unaware of what little Mr. Ross was doing at the bottom of such a bureaucratic heap.

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Announcement by the Council of Foreign Ministers that Austria would be on the agenda of the coming meeting in Moscow recalls a "dream we lost." Back in 1943, when there was a compulsory assumption that Russia would joyously co-operate in making a brave new world, dream-architects in the State Department had their blueprint ready for Austria. That little country, an economic weakling of the last post-war era, would be given a bright economic future by permission to join a free Danubian federation. Ere long, at the Tehran and Yalta conferences, Mr. Roosevelt airily gave away to Russia the freedom of the Balkans, and with it any chance of a free Danubian federation. Today Russia, as a result of the annexation of Bessarabia, has surprisingly emerged as a "Danubian country" and dominates the area.

Where does this leave Austria, and its quondam friends in the State Department? Will Austria set out again on the agonizing course which it had to follow after the last war? At that time, a financial iron lung had to be rushed to its rescue at frequent intervals. The Western Powers will hardly let it join the present "unfree Danubian federation." The best long-run alternative from an economic viewpoint would be an Anschluss with Germany, if the latter recovers industrially. But this few Austrians would support today.

As time goes on, however, the old idea may regain popularity. The recent London statement (December 9) of Dr. Kurt Schumacher, leader of the German Social Democrats in the British zone, commands attention: "The Austrian people will have to decide where their economic future lies -- in complete independence or as part of Germany." He added that the two States could best exist as one. It is felt that Schumacher would hardly have made such a statement if he had not encountered at least some sympathy in official British circles. No response is forthcoming from the State Department, but doubts are rising in its midst. It is a fair question to ask whether the latter will not eventually be driven, by the objective facts of Austria's situation, to back a solution which Hitler rammed through by force of arms.

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Much criticism was levelled at the Supreme Court during the past year because one of its Justices went off on a forensic sabbatical in Nuremberg, Germany, leaving the docket in a rather bad state of repair. Today, Supreme Court Justices -- who no more desired that situation than did the critics -- are having their innings, and are quite justifiably criticizing the Executive for negligence. With the case between the United Mine Workers and the Government -- one of the most important in recent years -- coming up before the Court, there is no substitute talent of the calibre commonly associated with the office of Solicitor General to present the Government's case. For this highly vital post has remained vacant for many months and despite grumblings from the bar and bench Mr. Truman has not got around to naming a candidate. The Solicitor General, who is charged with the duty of representing the Government before the Court, cannot be a mere deserving party member; he must have a firm grounding in the law and great skill in the courtroom. The position has traditionally been much coveted by the cream of the practising law talent in the country.

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Notes and Quotes

"What we may have to face in the future," said Mr. Marquand, Secretary of State for Overseas Trade in the British Cabinet, November 5, "is something like the slump of 1921. I firmly believe that British economy can resist the effects of such a temporary depression because the system of economic planning and control is good and industry is sufficiently resilient. We must also look forward to a big depression of the 1929 type coming at some time, but that was a depression caused by scarcity in the midst of plenty, and we have not yet reached the stage of plenty."

Taking this as a text, Tidings (London, November 16) directs a scathing attack on the British Labour Party's economic policies: "Fifteen months ago the Socialist Ministers said 'control' was necessary to avoid 'the slump' which followed 'the boom' last time. Now we are to have the slump, or slumps, without the boom. Virtue even appears to be claimed for 'control' (in American, the New Deal) because, when the slump comes, it will not find us enjoying 'plenty.' We always thought the camel's hump helped it to survive the waterless slump. . . . The argument appears merely to be that The Plan must go on because it is The Plan. There is no longer even a promise that it will lead anywhere. . . . Mr. Marquand's speech was the most astonishing governmental utterance we remember, in any country. It appears to us to imply the promise of a coolie-like future for this land. It is the lot of coolies only to work without reward and without freedom."

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"When and if the profit system faces a showdown with Marxism, as I feel some day it must, it will need the support of labor," said Mr. Louis P. Marciante, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor (AFL), as reported in the New York Times, December 17. Referring to threats to "shackle" labor during the coming Congress, Mr. Marciante went on, "If this attempt to shackle labor is successful. it is certainly going to be apparent to labor they must make a choice between enslavement by the State or by capitalism. My guess, based on what has happened in other countries, is that they will accept governmental domination in the form of Marxism rather than governmental domination in the interest of private enterprise." Mr. Marciante recalled that the AFL had been "outstanding in its defense of the profit system."

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Ezra Pound, the poet, was arraigned last year for seditious activities -- the alleged broadcasting of Italian Fascist propaganda during the war. He was eventually committed to a Washington institution on the ground that he was of unsound mind. Apparently his vicissitudes have not dimmed his unusual talent. For Poetry (September) published a new Canto by Pound, with the following characteristic line:

"Oh to be in England, now that Winston's out"

* * * * *

"Byrnes, Bevin and Molotov yearn to disarm,
And their passion for peace they assert;
Great Britain's re-arming bodes nobody harm,
But it goes with America's state of alarm
And the Soviet's state of alert.
The Big Three, while pleading disarmament's case,
Scent danger in going too fast,
And none is ambitious to take the first place
Because in the breakneck disarmament race
All Three would prefer to be last."

Sagittarius, in the New Statesman and Nation, November 16.

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